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## *Social Movement of Mandar People as a Struggle in Process of Forming West Sulawesi Province*

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper examines the dynamics of ethnicity in South Sulawesi. Mandar is a tribe (ethnic) that lives in the area. This region consists of three regencies (before expansion) which challenged from Mandar kingdoms, ethnic try again confirmed its glory by extending political rights to form an autonomous region through the establishment of a new province in South Sulawesi. This paper focuses on problem, how is the struggle order of forming new province in the former Mandar section and why does formation movement appear in the former Mandar section. By using descriptive qualitative approach which determines informant chosen focus on what is suggested by Patton (1994) where determining informant by using purposive way. The conceptual framework used from Fakhri (2000); Nordlinger (1994); Suzanne Keller (1984); and Rasyid (2000). the finding of the research describes that struggle movement of forming new province in the former Mandar section is a form of social movement to the positive phenomenon as a constructive means to social struggle where this movement is coordinated by an institution as a historical flame product refers to a number of activities to ease the movement pioneered by intellectual and traditional elite.

Key Words: Social Movement, Formation of Province in the Former Section of Mandar; and ethnicity.

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study was directed to determine the social movements of the people of Mandar (Mandar former section) as a great empire that wants to re-establish the glory to be calculated

by forming a region of new provinces. The main objective of this movement is not a loose form of desire (read: revolting) of South Sulawesi. The objectives of the establishment of the province, namely: first, to get the historical rights of the people in the former kingdoms "Pitu Ba'ba Binanga" and "Pitu Ulunna Salu" in accordance with the constitutional political development of Indonesia, secondly, to strengthen the commitment and support for national unity to avoid disunity among ethnic groups in the former section and avoid the impression of forming Mandar ethnic provinces and third, to continue the struggle of the initiators which previously has been done since the early days of the independence.

Mandar Royal history was started from the formation of the kingdom in the mid-16th century, although there were two major kingdoms namely kingdom Passokkora (in Mapilli Polmas) and the Baras kingdom (in Pasangkayu, Mamuju). Kingdom of Balanipa was very relevant in the perspective of the West Sulawesi because this kingdom was considered as the pioneer of a number of historical facts and high cultural value and remains a reference in the field of customary law (Ada'), governance and leadership for Mandar people. The kingdom was established on the early 16<sup>th</sup> century by I Manyumbangi or Todilaling, he is the only son of the king of Napo (Napo Tomakaka) who spent his teenage years in the environment of royal palace of Gowa ranging from king of Gowa-7 (Karaeng Batara Gowa) to the King of Gowa 9<sup>th</sup> (Karaeng Tumapa risi kallona) and King of Gowa-10<sup>th</sup> (Karaeng Lakung Tunipalanga Ulaweng).

Based on this historical flow, Mandar in the perspective of the Bugis-Makassar, is the oldest part of Luwu 'and Ware' of Bugis state and comprises all of the state of Bugis, Makassar, Toraja and Mandar (Latoa, 1985: 400). Thus, Mandar is regarded as a large Bugis state that is created from Butta Gowa state. Todilaling (I Manyumbangi) - King Napo's offspring, spent his teenage years and worked as a commander in the Kingdom of Gowa. In its development, Todilaling formed Mandar kingdoms the so-called royal Balanipa. (Rahman, 1984:48).

Mandar great empire is known as Ba'ba Binanga Pitu, Pitu Ulunna salu, which means an area consisting of seven downstream and upstream empires (Rahman, 1984: 46). The fourteen kingdoms each ruled by a king and live together in harmony and synergy (Sipamandar), it was confirmed in the Tammajarra declaration and the last one for unite in a village named Luyo (district Campalagian Polmas).

The historical roots led the Dutch colonial government established an evolved and changed governmental system based on the political demands of the government. It was seen after Mandar region made into one department in the region of Sulawesi. Mandar historical aspects of government department were adopted by the Dutch colonial government in 1916 by staatsblad No.325/1916. At that time the Celebes (Sulawesi) was in the section of eleven, four department in the North Kresidenan and seven in the South. Mandar was one of Kresidenan in the South. The division considered the historical aspects of the area by looking at the background of the existing large empire (Rahman, 1984:63).

Mandar in its development department was split into three regencies/districts, namely Polmas, Majene and Mamuju. The prominent figures of the district proposed that territory into a province. But the political reality and the government of the newly independent state and the ability of human resources had been aware the freedom fighters that being a province needed provincial environmental readiness and adequate resources to support the implementation of an autonomous provincial government.

Mandar people social movements to form an autonomous province had been passed until the fifth stage of the struggle; the initial phase occurred in August 1945, pioneered by the movement fighters in the Mandar area. The second stage, August 17, 1948 where the reign of the State of East Indonesia, the third stage ranged from 1950 to 1965 when the uprising of Kahar Muzakkar and Mandar region was also affected, isolated from the provincial and central governments, the fourth stage began in 1966, since the collapse of the old order in which this social movement had involved the students, the last phase of 1993- present, which takes place in the era of reformation marked with the aspiration that demanded political change and governance, including the splitting of the Autonomy Law. The formation of the autonomous region was a resistance to the social rela-

tions that exist in society and the power relations that occur between the community and the state, which was considered problematic or should be changed. This internal resistance image was manifested in the desire to seek the return of Mandar recognized as an ethnic in politics. Recognition politically was strived to combat ethnic marginalization that has been widely seen in the level of bureaucracy. Powers of provincial bureaucracy emphasized Bugis ethnic from the political elite of the royal line.

At the local level the social movements that keep trying to expect formation of provinces is considered realistic. This assumption is based on the Law on Regional Autonomy. 22, 1999 (pre-revised), provide opportunities and new spaces to the area to reduce the exploitation and marginalization. In other words, Mandar region with autonomy is able to independently take care of the region including regional revenue tapped. (Mandar Post, 2000). It is also based on a sense of disappointment that Mandar in over the past 50 years as the South Sulawesi region received less attention from the central government's attention.

Reactions to this condition are pushing the changes made by a group or a group of a certain power. This reaction is mobilized by group or by a group of a certain power. The power of the association incorporated in Sipamandar forum, whose members are a combination between the traditional and the intellectual elite. This elite Joint Action Committee subsequently spearheaded the formation of Formation of West Sulawesi (KAPP - Sulbar) on 9 September 1988 in Makassar.

Given the change-oriented movement, the movement means as a form of resistance against the authorities, no movement other than a collection of a desire to change things which are considered better and more meaningful (Mahardika, 2000:5). Within the framework of social life, the movements are the various efforts to change the order of the unfair towards a new order which guarantees the realization of justice, prosperity and welfare of mankind.

Based on these realities, the research conducted highlights how social movements performed by the people of Mandar, West Sulawesi province are formulated in two questions, namely: How is the order of forming new province in the former of Mandar?, And Why does the movements formation of new provinces in the former section of Mandar arise?

## THEORETICAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

The study of the social movements is classified into two different approaches (Fakih, 2000; 41-43). The first approach; consists of various theories which tend to see social movements as a problem, or as a symptom of social problems. Herbele in Mansour F (1951), conceptualize that a social movement is essentially a form of non-institutional collective political behavior that is potentially harmful as threatening the stability of an established way of life. Meanwhile sociologists, Fruer in Masour F (1969), tends to see social movements as “conflict of generations” and offers a sociological analysis, which assumes that social movements are part of a new generation to fight for public recognition. The theory of social movements rooted and influenced by “structural functionalism” sociological theory. Functionalism sees society and social institutions as a system in which all parts depend on each other and work together to create a balance. They are inclined to use the values of the properties owned or standards which are generally accepted as a central concept. Functionalism emphasizes the unity of the people and what is held in common by members. That is why functionalism sees social movements as negative, raises a conflict that disrupts the communities’ harmony.

The second approach; sees social movements as a positive phenomenon, or as a constructive mean for social change. This approach is an alternative to functionalism known as the conflict theory. It uses three basic assumptions. First, people are considered to have a basic interest where they will try hard to fulfill it. Second, power is the core of the social structure and eventually raises struggle to get it. Finally, the value and the idea are the conflict weapon used by various groups to achieve their respective goals, rather than as a means of maintaining identity and to unite the goals of the community.

In common understanding, social movements are associated with various measures taken to give a response to certain conditions (social reality) in the community. The social reality includes specific relationships such as the relationship between the individuals, social relations, economics and politics. This relationship is a response or reaction to a situation that is done by certain parties in the community who want to drive change. These Parties are not just a single individual or a group, but certain groups which are trying to seize the power (power

struggle).

The struggle Movement creates new circumstances change and significantly better, the success rate is very depend on the quality of the movement power. Basically, a social movement is nothing but the power of the drafting process that requires change, and it gradually roll out such a real action in order that the changes rolling.

In every movement of the perpetrators of course involve the change of quality and direction, it would be determined by the main actors and the basic interests of the movement. Therefore, every component in the movement should realize that not all movements will bring significant improvements to the lives of the masses. Sometimes, a change of movement that involves a lot of the people in the end just put the people as a tool to press, and then, after the movement is over and change happens, it turns out that changing only the political elite, in the form of the circulation of power and not a change in the true sense. This means that the movement was instrumental elite.

Elite movement is an effort launched by the elite, which is intended for the purpose of strengthening their position, or even improves the quality of their positions. Elite in low quantity of movement makes the power elite as a people’s movement using political maneuvers and tricks or techniques as well as techniques rely on the capacity of the lobby and a great resource. Technique of choice in addition to a reflection of the amount of mass is also part of the elite’s own character. Are very concerned about when motion is characteristic of elite accentuate people’s movement, when in fact an elite tactics to push their own interests.

## ELITE THEORY

What are the elite? According to Gaetano Mosca that in a community, large or small always form two main groups: those who lead (the elite) and the group-led, and which is said to be an elite group whose numbers are always smaller runs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys advantage given that power, while the second is the mass larger number group and controlled by the elite group (Mosca, 1976; 2).

Suzane Keller (1984, 4) suggests that the term refers to a minority elite person appointed to serve a collectivity in a way that is socially valuable. The elite are an effective and responsible - effective notice to the implementation of interest and concern to others where the group

provides responses.

From the discipline of political science, sociology and anthropology consider that elite potential as agents of change, especially in its function as a bridge that connects the governments will and interests of community members. In this sort of position, they bear load in explaining the general wisdom and development priorities that are designed by the government to members of the public.

The concept of the elite according to Koentjaraningrat at the local level is divided into two kinds of elite or leader, the traditional leaders and the elite or elite or leaders of today ( Koentjaraningrat , 1984, 128-147 ). Traditional elite are those perceived to have power over the masses because it has the traditional characteristics valued by the local community , such as heredity , powerful , charismatic , capable economical to perform religious ceremonies , capable of moving the physical strength and organize people on the basis of a system of sanctions. While the elite of today are those who are seen to have power over the masses because it has the characteristics of today , such as the ability of rational choice to solve various social problems, legitimacy based on legal procedures.

Sunyoto Usman (1991; 27-37) grouped into two typologies of the elite : Elite institutional (institutional Elites) that those who are at high strata of society because formal position, especially in the government , and elites who are out of line bureaucracy (non legitimated Elites), they are categorized individuals into the elite group as a respectable lineage in society , rich or have high religious knowledge . Meanwhile, according to Van Niel elite is basically the leader, which is anyone who stands above the masses, which in some cases lead influence, regulate and guide the community.

Elite as stated Van Niel , Koentjaraningrat and Sunyoto Usman , in general, are true , because the elite are those who have the capacity to influence others , so that the other person is behaving as desired elite . However, not all elite become leaders, because not all the elite have followers who can be seen physically.

## THE CONCEPT OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF REGIONAL RELATIONS CENTER

The term autonomy, today, comes from the Dutch “*autonomie* “. The word was adopted from two Greek

words namely “*autos* “meaning himself and “*Nomo*’s” which means the regulation or legislation . Thus, literal understanding of the word autonomy is itself a regulation or statute itself.

In the beginning, *air-* autonomous or autonomous interpreted as having its own rules or the right , the power , the authority to make their own rules. It is also usually interpreted as a right, power, or authority related to or associated with legislative regulations.

The term autonomy is then shifted to the understanding of “*self-government*”. In this sense, the government in its broadest sense includes the setting (or legislation) implementation, the police and the courts. Thus, autonomy means “the right, power, authority setting itself, the implementation of its own, its own police, and courts themselves.

The concept of autonomy is often based on the premise that in a vast region with much population, the government (in this case the central government) tends to have difficulty in carrying out its duties and functions. Maximization of government functions and duties associated with the ability to control and run the whole government affairs optimally and efficiently in these areas evenly.

Discourse on Regional Autonomy in fact is not the new one. It is stated in Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution. In more operational study of local government in the reform period has been stipulated in Law No. 22 on Regional Government (before revision). Applicability of the Act concerning the local government has changed the regional administration ( Ryaas Rashid , 2000 ; 28 ) . These changes include:

1. Directions democratic governments increasingly clear, no longer emphasizing the principle of de-concentration, yet decentralization.
2. To implement the system of decentralization no longer done through submission of affairs, but the delegation of authority.
3. Which Autonomy has been turned over to counties and cities, adhering to the principle of autonomy, real and responsible in proportion.
4. Wide autonomy is in the framework of the unitary state and taking into account other laws applicable in the unitary Republic of Indonesia.

The implementation of Regional Autonomy will not escape from the problems that arise in the relationship

between the central regions. Autonomy issues in the area are not just administrative technical problems. However, it is closely related to the governance aspects of the prevailing political conditions. Clearly, the question of the political will of the central government is crucial for the survival of regional autonomy. Granting autonomy to the regions in the system of government in a politically unified state can be interpreted as reducing the intensity of the center of the area. These conditions can be interpreted from two different sides. First, from the central government, it can reduce of the implementation of central interest in the area.

In terms of local government itself, turned out to be real autonomy from the center of the area is not always welcome. Especially in the area of calculation ability in some cases regions are “minus “ autonomy from the central area is more than an additional burden with grace. As a result a lot going on formalism in local government, in the sense of autonomy instructions must be realized because of the central concerns of institutional credibility. However, many of the problems may arise in the implementation of the autonomy among others. This problem is a frame of generally accepted refines .

In terms of local government, local autonomy in real terms reminds them to be able to take into account the ability of the region. It is characterized by a requirement for local governments more eager entrepreneurs, namely, active, creative and innovative. (Haryadi ,2000; 31). The phrase applies to follow money function (Surbakti , 1999;47), so that local governments will be able to carry out the most basic functions in creating a better social order .

## RESEARCH METHODS

The unit of analysis of this study is the former Mandar section. The location includes five districts namely districts: District Polewalimandar, Mamasa, Majene, Mamuju and North Mamuju District by using purposive sampling (purposive) with some considerations:

1. Originally studied social reality of each district who wishes to form a new province with no tug- release pattern that occurs in the formation of the interests of the province.
2. In the former section Mandar community structures formed from the crown Ba’ba Binanga Pitu , Pitu

Ulunna Salu has a social coating composed of the nobility , the middle class and lower class .

3. Ex- Mandar department is very diverse in terms of ethnicity, all tribes in South Sulawesi inhabit this area and some other parts such as Java, Bali and Sunda .

The methods was used in the study was a qualitative approach (qualitative research) that had produced descriptive data such as speech, writing and action that could be observed from the study subjects. This study had also used the descriptive method. This method was inspired from the opinion of Kenneth D Bailey, descriptive study that says that basically contains two Goals<sup>2</sup>: first, to provide a systematic overview of the reality and characteristics of a population of actual and factual basis to determine the development of certain physical facilities or reveal certain phenomena. Second, to explain a social phenomenon. Accordingly, Masri Singarimbun said that descriptive research was intended for accurate measurement of certain social phenomenon .

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### THE STRUGGLE PHASE FORMATION OF WEST SULAWESI

The idea of the establishment of the province of West Sulawesi as a movement is not only in the days reformed . This idea has emerged at the beginning of independence and continues to several stages of which are influenced by the colors and political conditions of the Indonesian nation. This stage is based on the statements of the leaders who later became a general perception among the public in the former section Mandar . The stage of this struggle can be categorized into:

#### 1. EARLY STAGE ( AUGUST 1945 )

In this stage, their struggle category was still in the form of an idea or notion of freedom fighters in the Mandar region, it means that their struggle is still limited in the shadows and minds of the mandar fighters. One of them is HA Malik Pettana Endeng as a young fighter. When interviewed he stated enthusiastically:

*“If someday Indonesian independence, the empire and Pitu Pitu Ba’bana Ulunna Salu will be Kresidenan own or province and autonomous because both this kingdom and*



*potentially very rich and the government should pay attention to this “.(Community Leaders )*

This figures prediction is one of the historical aspects and the capital of the next phase of the struggle. From the facts, it turns out the Government of Republic of Indonesia after independence and is formed from the meeting result on 19-08-1945 only divides Indonesia into eight provinces and Sulawesi should just accept the fact that there is only one province.

## 2. SECOND PHASE (AUGUST 17, 1948)

The second phase of the struggle was during the reign of East Indonesia, where some socio-political power in the region planned the establishment of Mandar province. Renowned organizations, among others: Bapnas (National consensus Agency) dated 17-08-1948 in Majene. The forming of this board was supported by Syarikat Islamic Party (PSII) and the People's Sovereignty Party (PKR).

At this stage Bapnas led by Wahab Anas, who was considered very militant at that time. This struggle is a continuation of HA Malik Pettana Endeng ideas and simultaneously with Muh. Riri Amin David, he stated:

*“At that time I helped Puang Malik fought the pure ideals. The most historic in this struggle was, the the top of the struggle, which was held a meeting in Arajang Tinambung sub-regional and succeeded to establish Formation RI Emergency Government of West Sulawesi “.*

This struggle did not obtain satisfactory results, but a new chapter of darkness covered the Mandar former section, although it had captured opinion widely and Bapnas had successfully socialized idea to the public but at the moment it appeared Emergency Government in Pamboang and this became a dilemma for society.

## 3. THE THIRD PHASE (1950-1965)

This stage ranges from years 1950-1965 and uprising of Kahar Muzakkar, Mandar region was isolated from the central government and the provincial government. The majority of Polmas, Majene and Mamuju became de facto regional DI / TII. The condition became worse when the government of this region was in a state of war emergency. Dualism forced that acts between civil-military. Military force led by Lt. Col. A. Selle which had

been going on since the beginning of 1954, A. Selle as one of subordinate Kahar Muzakkar applied protective style of leadership as a system of feudalism (Barking, 183), to describe the leadership style practiced feudal maintaining relationships with subordinates who made up some reserve battalion at his own cost.

Thus the political dynamics triggered Youth movement to form Mandar Oppressed People's Liberation Front ( FPRTM ) aimed at ending the dualism of power in Mandar region . People who were involved in this phase include: HA Depu , Baharuddin Lopa , Husni Jamaladin , S. Mengga , Riri Muh Amin D and others.

*” The Struggle Front supported on two things: to end Lt. Col. A. Selle duality of power in 1964 where he was deactivated , and the struggle to seek expansion opportunities swatantra province where Level II Mandar when it was opened and likely to become a province , but in 1959 the autonomous mandar swatantra was divided into three districts , namely Polmas, Mejene, and Mamuju and it was not a province . Then in 1960 , this struggle Front formed the Provincial Council of Resistance Formation provincial, Mandar , however, it was less successful because the government was busy with the struggle for the liberation of West Irian so socialization was less able to fight locally implemented”. ( Indigenous People / Culture )*

For several years, the three districts were less able to develop properly as a result of unbalance local conditions. At The same time, there were cues that the central government would accommodate the aspirations of expansion especially in the South and Southeast Sulawesi, which eventually spurred the Mandar figures to fight the former section to set as a province and entered the advanced stage of the struggle.

## 4. THE FOURTH PHASE (1965- )

This stage started since the collapse of the Old Order, plus the same figure in the previous stage and some Mandar students who were studying in Makassar.

Along with this situation:

*“in fact, the struggle of forming western sulawesi provinces*

*had existed since the days of the old order to the new order, however there were no follow up action at each stage of the struggle by the government because the government did not prioritize this demand. The government had promised that the seventh section area in Sulawesi will be the province".*

*(Indigenous People / Culture)*

New Order era was characterized by the formation of the organization in the name of Polmas, Maje'ne, Mamuju as cross - regency organization one of which is "Mandar Study Club". It came out ideas to rise up and construct Mandar former section with its liberty championed by figures originator of the idea before and still urged the central government to quickly make the former section Mandar into a province. An informant told her disappointment with the failure of the current event fight for the fourth time. He felt the government was less concerned for Mandar former section people's aspirations, he recounted:

*"The originator of the Mandar study was initiated by a young leader Ma'mun Hasanuddin. Although it has previously collaborated with prominent figures, but the government did not also pay attention to the demands of the establishment of the province, which is supported by Regulation No. 2/1964 and Law no. 13/1964 that the province of South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi were only divided into two provinces namely South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi, while West Sulawesi was still suspended when the reality on the ground that the former section mandar was more worthy of being a province rather than South East Sulawesi ". (intellectual element)*

## 5. THE FIFTH PHASE (1993)

This stage occurred in reformation era and a composite (read; peak) of all Mandar provinces formation struggle (West Sulawesi. Since 1964, nearly thirty years without open aspirations which was demanding political and governance change, including regional growth aspirations.

This struggle phase was a combination of the characters between the old characters categorized as pioneer at the early and the second phase and classified as freedom fighters (who are still alive) such as HA Malik Pettana Endeng. In addition, some of the figures in the third and fourth phases involved and gathered power from either

students or community leaders in three counties/regencies and even involved Harmony mandarin organizations in Jakarta and across the country.

In the Early 1993 the leaders managed to establish Sipamandar Forum, as a forum, communication and participation for Mandar people. This forum was established by the leaders of the youth organization community. This forum was acting more as a forum among three districts and free from political activities, thus, this forum only facilitated social, student and youth activities whose direction whose purpose was on improving human resources.

This forum formed presidium consisting of three members of the presidium in which they became chairman in turn they were Husni Jamaladin (Polmas), Asnawi Parampasi (Mamuju) and Prof. Dr. Amin Abdullah (Majene). The Obsession to form West Sulawesi province was still at the level of discourse, discussion, and workshop activities, in this new phase, idealism and aspiration of West Sulawesi province formation were in the level of struggle where the fight under any circumstances were openly expressed before the 1998 reform implemented.

Starting in 1980, this forum formed KAPP-Sulbar which is an agency that spearheaded more planned, systematic and constitution movement struggle which received full support from all the people through three approvals of Parliament, district of Polmas, Maje'ne, and Mamuju (September 1998) to form a New province called West Sulawesi, with the main reason that the establishment of the province struggle movement was not even lead to violations of the laws and regulations. As a warrior society, Mandar people really appreciate constitution, ethics and values of brotherhood and unity, and the more of it that Mandar people love and commit to the unity of the country.

## THREE REASONS THE FORMER OF MANDAR WANT TO FORM PROVINCE

Three important principal reasons led to the establishment of the province; First, the Kingdom historical review, Mandar kingdom confederation glory. Referring to the Balanipa kingdom as an initiator or a pioneer of a number of historical facts which were high culture valued and remained a reference in the field of law (custom), government and leadership for Mandar people. This is evidenced by the formation of Mandar region

## SIMPLY STAGES OF ESTABLISH PROVINCE'S STRUGGLE CAN BE SEEN FROM THE TABLE BELOW:

TIME	CONTENT/SUBSTANCE OF MOVEMENT	STAKEHOLDER
First Stage (August, 1945)	Idea to Formed West Sulawesi province because there is only one province of eight ( 8 ) provinces in Indonesia.	Traditional Elite H . A . Malik Pettana E
Second Stage (August 17th,1948)	Continuing the idea and success to get opinion from society widely and socialize it to society , including the emergence of Emergency Government in Pamboang	Civil society and the Public Sector <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bapnas ( National consensus Agency ) on August 17th, 1948 is in Majene.</li> <li>• Supported by Islamic Union Party ( PSI ) and the People's Sovereignty Party ( PKR ) .</li> </ul>
Third Phase (1950-1965)	Continuing province's formation and supported by the rebellion of Kahar Muzakkar .	-Civil society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of the Youth movement in liberty of Mandar Oppressed People ( FPRTM ) , to end the dualism leadership due to the Kahar Muzakkar leaderships.</li> </ul>
The fourth phase (1965 - 1975)	Continuing establish province which is supported by Regulation law No. 2/1964 and UU No. 13/1964 that the province of South Southeast Sulawesi is only divided into two provinces namely South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi, while West Sulawesi is still suspended.	Civil Society formation of the organizations in the name of community of Polmas , Majene, Mamuju as a cross-regency oranzations. one of organization is " Mandar Study Club " .
Fifth stage (1993-2004)	The peak of all establish province struggles supported by Law No.22/1999 about local government.	Civil Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• combination between the traditional elite and intellectual elite whos members of the Forum Sipamandar.</li> <li>• Formed also establishment of West Sulawesi Action Committee( KAPP ) - West Sulawesi .</li> </ul>

from 14 kingdoms called “Pitu Pitu Ulunna Ba’ba Binanga and Sallu” living side by side in harmony and synergy (Sipamandar). The roots of this history led to the Dutch government consideration to establish an evolved and changed governmental system based on the political demands of the government. This could be seen especially after the region as one section.

The Historical review of the movement phase was first proposed by Malik Pettana Endeng in the form of ideas and concepts, but it was generally considered as the initial phase of the struggle. Then became the movement until the fourth phase, however, the fourth phase did not receive a positive response from the government recommending Mandar region as a province. Movement peaked in the fifth phase, this stage was a combination of good fighters from the previous phase or from the intellectuals who were the members of the Action Committee of West Sulawesi Formation (KAPP-West Sulawesi).

Secondly, in terms of inequality of center-sub district relations, domination problems (perceived as hegemonic practice) the central government and regional economic

activity, because this centralization is a prominent issue in particular regarding with the efficiency of resource utilization in Mandar region. The centralization aspect directed to management and distribution of resource where a rich region donated a larger resource and got less economic allocation asset, eventually it tended to cause dissatisfaction (injustice) of the area which is likely to give rise to separatist movements in several regions in Indonesia, including in Mandar region.

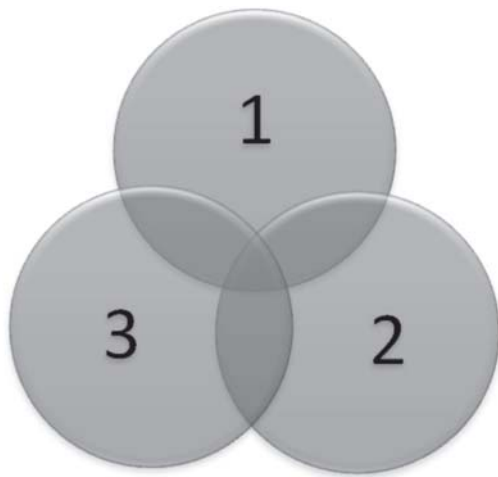
Thirdly, the influence of traditional elite leadership, which collectively is in the highest position and hold the influence and charismatic power in Mandar. The relationship between traditional elite with the society is in the compliance nuance to the leader, as it is described by Koentjaraningrat (1984) that the elite demand the compliance of his follower in the atmosphere of mutual need. Such condition is preserved easily because the society view reflect the obligation for the elite to protect and to ensure the welfare of his people, and the people must support the elite’s authority with such devotion and to provide their strength for the elite as long as the elite



meets their need.

Based on the relationship fact between the elite and the society, the social stratification of Mandar people has three (3) levels: *first*, the sovereign, which is the royal family, consist of few people from the society as the top elite, they have authority in governmental field. *Second*, middle level, as the strategic elite for their skill and professionalism, they focus on their field and don't easily interfere by the sovereign. *Third*, low level, which is the biggest in number, this level of people tend to be obedient to the traditional elite because they think the traditional elite has the charisma to look up to.

To put it simple, the struggle level for the province formation is describe by this table:



X : Formation of Propince West Sulawesi (Sulawesi Barat/Sulbar)

- 1: - Influence of traditional elite that had High position through Charismatic power
- 2: - Gap Relation between Central and phery .
  - Domination Central Government
  - Allocation of economic social and political allocation not balance
- 3: - Historically reason because eks afdeling Mandar rooted from 14 kingdoms Pitu Ba'ba Binganga And Pitu Ulunna Salu"

#### Province Formation Socialization Strategy

The resistant from social politic power, especially from those who feel excluded, inflict disappointment. To control such condition, the socialization strategy is run to various parties at Mandar, start from each district. This strategy is the only way out to ease the society to accept the formation plan. This strategy is claimed to be the

easiest way because the resistant can easily understand the final purpose of the province formation and also understand the planning program for their region so they won't criticize or against the idea of formation any longer.

The socialization strategy used is the introduction process, especially the concept or program which is the vision and mission from the province formation movement. The unstoppable intention then materialized in the form of Galung Lombok Declaration ( November 10<sup>th</sup> in Tinambung) which was supported by local government of three districts.

This declaration is the manifestation of the advanced social movement which represent in the struggle form ever since the Independence Day. This movement is scheduled to coincide with the Patriot Day as a reminder that the Sul-Bar province formation is to be taken seriously.

Thus, the socialization done in legislative, executive or in society is an effort to ensure that every component in Mandar region understand the province formation movement. The movement is based on the changing movement in which Fakihi (2000) considers as a form of elite movement to strengthen the position of elite authority and to increase the quality of elite position in which the movement is based on the Mandar value "sipakatau", a value which heighten the sense of mutual respect so the movement is intended to create a change to a better future depend on the substance and quality from the purity of the social movement itself.

## THE INTEREST GROUP AS THE ELITE POWER

There are two elite powers emerge during the province formation movement; *first*, the power emerge from the resistance of the idea is categorized as an anomi group, critics and threats thrown by this society who feel excluded from the movement is spontaneous and temporary. Their aim is to ensure that the movement initiate by the intellectual group in Mandar doesn't exclude the old or even the young generation. This excluded-group claim that it is for everyone benefit that the movement group introduce the concept more transparently and not only discussed among the elite group, because they see the purpose of the movement as unclear, the work program is vague and not easily accepted by the Mandar people.

*Second*, the movement support group, this group gives the strong support for the KAPP-Sulbar to proceed with

the movement. With that support, the initiators feel that there is a part of society shares the same wish to form a province, therefore the initiators start perfecting the concept of the vision and mission of the movement. The reward for the support is to recruit a few members to join the movement.

## AUTONOMY OPTIONS

Autonomy option as the final purpose is very crucial, because such option enhances the benefits and advantages received by the local government, especially in lessen the concentration power to the central government. It is done by giving the local government the power to make the decision regarding their region or to supervise the source of funds which given to the local government so the continuing development which include the government and the people is materialized and to able the local government handling the probable problems.

One of the best principle in applying autonomy is to guarantee the region governmental system which support by its people, this principle become crucial in the democracy process as whole. If everything is supported by the people, than the participation as the main paradigm of people involvement will be more meaningful.

The realization of the idea of province formation as a part of democracy and constitutional process is at least show the struggle legitimation which can open the door for a wider support, more advance than just a recommendation of SulBar discourse. But the most important thing is to enter the transition time so that the new province can be establish firmly with no hesitation, without half-hearted response and controversy so the new province is independent to manage the natural resources available to meet their need.

Start from the reasons stated above, there is a theoretic implication from the understanding of the *ex-afdeling* Mandar movement in forming the province: *first*, the struggle on forming the province shows that the movement done realistically is seen as a social movement in the form of positive phenomenon or as a constructive means to the social change. In this view Fakih (2000) stated that the social change doesn't happen dramatically, but more like a natural long process (evolution) along the flow like the reformation which has happened in our country. The movement which a form of struggle to create a change such this is more oriented to a better and

a more meaningful future, the succeed rate depends on the quality of the elite involve in the movement, their idea is supported by the intellectual elite as minority in creating changes in peace and constitutional. The build construction also includes the initiators as the power source and still prioritizes them as the charismatic figure that holds enough power for their movement.

Second, social movement led by a group of intellectuals at least have a political function, namely socialization desire to continue to serve the collectivity (Mandar people) in a way that is socially valuable in the appropriate level categorization theory stated by Keller (1984). In this case it is assumed in two ways, namely, first, the presence of actors involved, that there are actors who are sons of the soil more as an intellectual group that wants a change in the region. Second, look at the product and the political process carried out by the actor, that products and processes forming the province not only the work of a faction of the elite alone but all the elites who influence the process and the product.

Regarding to two assumptions above, the elitist group linked to the formation of West Sulawesi province as proposed by Usman (1991) divided into categorization, namely: institutional and non- legitimacy of the elite. In the language of institutional structure in this case, the elite are those who have a role because the peak position in the inner layer of society. It represented ole and indigenous community leaders; In view of bureaucratic organization in this case, elite -oriented those who have real authority in the area of government organizations. They are in this sense is the bureaucrats and the representatives who sit in the provincial legislative body that gives recommendations Mandar people agreed to form a province. Along with it in this sense KAPP initiators in West Sulawesi fight through agencies / organizations in which it came as an independent institution which conducts processed consciously rational, planned and organized. In another view, in this case the value, the elite are those who can establish or create value is recognized and received high appreciation in society. Value in the form of power, wealth, honors science, chance or a combination of these; concluded the more value, the higher the position of the elite. They were seen in this group include all the components involved in the process of establishing the province of West Sulawesi.

Third, in order to implement the ideals to form a new province in the former section Mandar is not as easy as

turning the palm of the hand. Many factors are likely to be the cause of this region to escape into an autonomous region. The existence perceived backwardness and gap by this area as a result of the heavy reliance on central and provincial areas. The inability to freely manage local resources owned due centralization power, the lack of distribution of authority, as a result of continuous areas will remain dependent forever. With regional autonomy laws possibility of this concept will be accepted in its implementation. Backwardness and inequality experienced by this region is also caused by the distance between the centers of the area. The lack of facilities and infrastructures required by the area causes the lagging regions. Therefore, the lack of attention to the local government intends to trigger off the area and became an independent province and this should be the focus of government attention because if allowed to continue will cause the seeds of separatism.

## CONCLUSION

First, the movement of the historical background of the establishment of the province, is understood as an action in response association (reaction) of certain conditions, especially dominance (understood as hegemony) excessive in any ethnic community in South Sulawesi. The focus is on power relations, so that a given reaction is a form of desire change for the better and meaningful social and political life.

Second, the public response from various socio-political forces, allegedly pull of the pattern of interest. These forces are at two positions, namely pro (support) and cons (reject) the struggle movement formation. In anticipation of these conditions, then the strategy of socialization as a middle way, socialization approach brings positive impact to the smooth running of the local government recommendations policing, Majene and Mamuju (before expansion).

Third, given the importance of the independence of the region in developing the potential of the area owned, then the formation of social movements through provincial autonomy is the best choice for Mandar in social and political life, the birth of the Regional Autonomy Law No. 22 of 1999 opened up opportunities in the options. With these options, it is expected out of such domination of the New Order.

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